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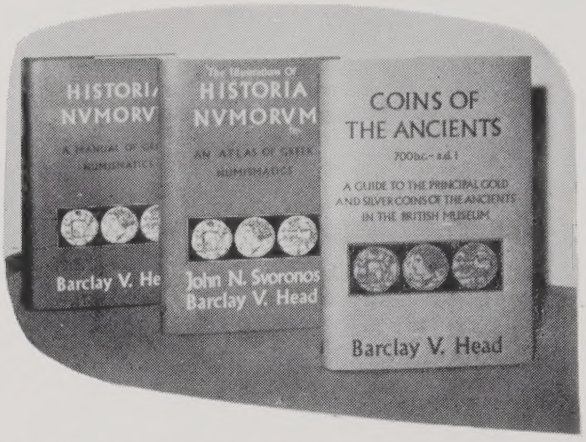
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Cover Coin: Gold Solidus. Portrait of the Empress Theodora as Regent for her Son Michael III "the Drunkard" (842-867). Photo courtesy: Numisphoto, Chicago.

North American Journal of Numismatics

An international monthly

Devoted to the study of ancient, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, medieval and historical modern coins.

From the Editor's Desk

If it is to be admitted that all men are mortal and subject to the frailties of humanity, then perhaps your editor will be forgiven if a bit of what the ancient Greeks called "hubris" emerges from this particular message.

The appearance of the issue for March of 1968 which you have already received may be regarded as a landmark of sorts. It was three years ago that this magazine was first published through the auspices of Argonaut Inc. and the March issue marked the beginning of the fourth year of continuous publication under their aegis. Perhaps for the benefit of our many new readers we may once again reflect on the tortured history of this magazine—not, need it be added, to glory in what has been done, but rather to remind ourselves that we are still moving towards our often announced goals.

Beginning with our first issue of this year, we have made the final move of dropping the name, The Turtle (which by the way is the title of the official organ of the American Society of Herpetologists!) and giving official prominence to our title *North American Journal of Numismatics*. As we have previously stated, the *Voice of the Turtle* is not an obvious numismatic reference and is more popularly known as a Biblical one. The meaning of what our magazine contained was thereby obscured. *North American Journal of Numismatics*, we think, fully encompasses the nature and content of the magazine and is self-evident to any who sees it.

Placed on our title page each month is the assertion that the magazine was founded in 1963 by Harold Roepe, and this tribute to the founder will continue indefinitely. The whole concept of a monthly magazine devoted to ancient coins and an international organization of men and women who collected and studied ancient coins may not have originated with Mr. Roepe. The concept of sailing west across the Atlantic may not have originated with Columbus either, but it was Columbus who did it. So also was it with NAJN and ACCA: Harold Roepe did it.

Mr. Roepe published the *Turtle* regularly. He ground it out on his mimeograph, bound it, paid postage on it, enrolled new members, sought advertisers, handled publicity and editing and in short did the work of about ten people. When the ACCA

reached 300 members he was no longer able to carry on all of his duties and he sought help. It was here, as the organization attempted to diversify its duties that it fell on evil times. Promises failed to materialize, functions failed to be performed—a great idea was moribund. The Turtle was published in January 1964 and was not heard from again until November of that year when your editor assumed both the publication and the editorial duties. Since November of 1964 there has not been a single issue missed. Late we have been —our problems both major and minor have come one after another—at times it seemed as though some malevolent demon was determined that our concept of ACCA and the NAJN should falter again.

I had the privilege of meeting the principals of Argonaut Inc. for the first time in January of 1965. It was a cold night in Chicago. The temperature was below zero and the Chicago wind was as friendless as the NAJN seemed also to be. Funds were depleted—the editor's ability to carry the finances of the magazine was near exhaustion. Argonaut's attitude was simple, "We will publish the magazine." I informed them of the chaotic state of ACCA records, the deficit in the finances, the loss of confidence members had developed in the organization. Their response was, "It must be done—we shall do it." This issue is number 37 since they made that commitment. In the past three years, through every vicissitude which comes to haunt a new publication, Argonaut has stood by original commitment and the NAJN has not failed.

Abraham Lincoln is reputed to have said that you can please some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you can not please all the people all of the time. This old saw falls into the moldy cliche category, but editing and publishing the NAJN has given some meaning to that statement. We have had critics, whom we appreciate and from whom many improvements have flowed, and detractors we fail to understand, except that it is probably impossible to say anything to a thousand people without finding one to take offense. That does amount to point one percent.

Suffice it then to say, as editor, and associate with a fine publisher for three years, that this magazine which marks the beginning of the fourth year of that association also stands as a monument to the determination that the world will not be deprived of a serious monthly journal of ancient numismatics.

John E. Hartmann, editor

A 7th Century Byzantine 40 Nummia Piece, Struck On A 4th Century Imperial Roman Centoninialis

CHRISTOPHER HALE

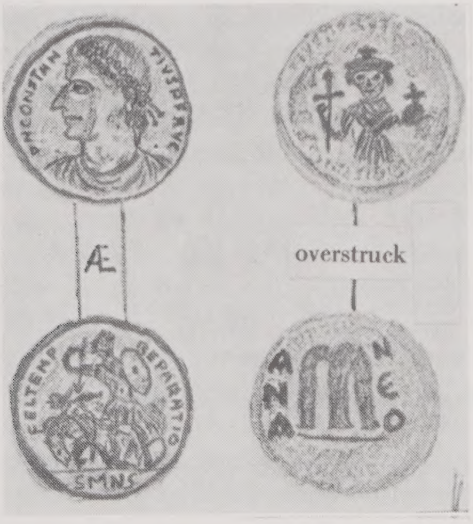
Although the overstriking of one type onto another occurs commonly enough in numismatics, occasionally the period of time between two coin types and the historical considerations of the issuers of the different types make certain examples of overstrikes quite unusual. A 7th century Byzantine type overstruck on a 4th century Imperial Roman bronze coin illustrates this phenomenon.

The Roman coin is definitely a centoninialis (23 mm.) of the reign of Constantius II as Augustus (337-361 A.D.). On the obverse are traces of the draped and diademed bust of the emperor with the inscription *DNCONSTAN* TIVSP*FAVG*, and on the reverse is the inscription FELT(E)*MP* REPARATIO with remnants of the type of the emperor spearing a fallen barbarian horseman. The mintmark on the coin is almost entirely obliterated, but from the traces that remain it appears to be SMNS, coming from the sixth officina at Nicomedia. An unusual feature of the coin is that the emperor's bust faces left instead of right, the latter being most common on the FEL TEMP REPARATIO series of Constantius II.[1]

Struck on top of the Roman coin is a 40 nummia piece of Constans II (641-688 A.D. with a ¾ bust of the emperor facing and holding a cross and globus. On the reverse is an M with curved angles. The obverse of the Byzantine type is struck on the obverse of the Roman. Although there is virtually no remnant of the obverse inscription, it seems plausible to assign this type to Constans II, for he is the only emperor who uses this obverse type in conjunction with the curved M. Furthermore, there are clear traces on the reverse of the Romaic legend (A)*N*(A) (N)EO(SIS) "renovation" which appears with the curved M only on the coins of Constans II. Wroth assigns this type to the Constantinople mint,[2] although in the case of this coin there is no mintmark discernable. The restruck type might also be an Arab imitation of a Byzantine type. Most of these imitative types, however, have the regular straight M on the reverse and are accompanied by Arabic inscriptions of some sort.[3] Although this possibility cannot be

entirely excluded, nevertheless the styling of the piece in question seems to conform to the regular Byzantine coinage of the period.

Restruck bronze coins in the Byzantine series occur frequently. In the *British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins*, for example, many overstrikes can be found, such as a 20 nummia piece of Phocas struck on a 20 nummia piece of Maurice Tiberius[4] or a 40 nummia of Heraclius struck on a coin of Justin I.[5] Restriking seems to reach a high point during the reign of Constans II when the use of a new flan for a bronze coin is the exception.[6]



A hoard of 209 6th century Byzantine bronze coins together with 61 AE 4 5th century Roman coins (Marcian-Anastasius) was found at Isthmia in 1954,[7] indicating that bronze coins minted before the reform of Anastasius in 498 A.D. had circulated along with the large bronzes from as late as the second years of Maurice Tiberius (583/4 A.D.). Whether or not 4th century Imperial Roman bronzes were in circulation in 7th century Byzantium has not been determined. Nevertheless it would not be totally impossible, as this coin indicates, that a 4th century centoninialis could have gotten into the hands of some Byzantine official at the mint through accidental discovery on the part of a peasant or farmer.[8] Thus, being of the proper size for a 40 numia piece of the period (ca. 20-25 mm.), it would have been natural to strike the reigning emperor's types over this centoninialis.

That Imperial Roman coins were known to the peoples of Mediaeval Europe and Asia is well documented. One need only look, for example, to the early coins of Anglo-Saxon England to find types that definitely are taken from Roman models, such as a 7th century gold thrymsa with the head of Licinius I and inscription VOT XX,[9] or a sceat of Aethelberht II (748-762) with the type of wolf and twins copied from the Rome commemorative coinage of Constantine I.[10] Probably the most remarkable series of Mediaeval coins based on Roman prototypes is the coinage of the Urtukis of Maridin, illustrated by a bronze coin of Hussam-ed-din (1184-1200) with a definite portrait of the emperor Nero.[11]

If Roman coins were known as late as 7th century England and the 12th century Near East, they must also have been known in 7th century Byzantium. Thus in an era of frequent overstrikes it is not inconceivable that a 40 nummia piece was struck on a Roman centoninialis.

NOTES

[1]Carson, Hill & Kent (*Late Roman Bronze Coinage*, Spink & Sons, London, 1960) do not, however, attribute any coins of Constantius II with bust left to the Nicomedia mint (see p. 92).

[2]Warwick Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, British Museum, 1908 (Rp. Chicago 1966) pp. 268-270.

[3]Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine & Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, British Museum, London, 1956, Plates II, III & V.

[4]Wroth, p. 169.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 205.

[6]See Wroth for examples of 40 nummia coins of Constans II overstruck on those of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (p. 270) and Maurice Tiberius ? (p. 276).

[7]David MacDowall, "The Byzantine Coin Hoard Found at Isthmia," *Archaeology*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 264-267.

[8]Compare the hoards of ancient coins that are found in modern times by farmers plowing their fields.

[9]George C. Brooke, *English Coins*, Methuen & Co., London, 1955, 3rd ed., Plate LXV, no. 9.

[10]*Ibid.*, Plate III, no. 3.

[11]I. Ghalib Edhem, *Catalogue des Monnaies Turcomanes du Musee Imperial Ottoman*, Arnaldo Forni, Bologna, Plate III, no. 47.

Numismatics and Byzantine History 1950-1965

JOEL L. MALTER

The most interesting area in the recent literature on Byzantine numismatics concerns those writings which are mainly about the historical implications presented by a study of Byzantine coins.[23] Some of the categories that the "historical implications" literature covers are:

A. GENERAL HISTORICAL INFORMATION
B. PROPAGANDA
C. SYMBOLISM AND ICONOGRAPHY
D. IMITATIVE COIN TYPES

Philip Grierson's article "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 498 - c. 1090" is one of the better overall papers written on Byzantine numismatics.[24] Grierson emphasized many problem areas such as the debasement of the gold coinage as begun by Michael IV, 1034-1041, with an eye to the history behind the movement.[25] After he discussed the many different denominations of Byzantine coins, the mints, the metrology, the overstruck issues, and the monetary reforms, Grierson made the statement, "How satisfactorily the Byzantine monetary system fulfilled the economic requirements of the Empire during the many centuries of its history is a question we cannot at present answer."[26] But through his efforts and the writings of other prominent Byzantine scholars that answer is perhaps not too far away.

For example, some of the articles now to be discussed concentrate on small chronological or geographical areas, but add much to the history that is presently known about the areas covered. J. P. C. Kent has used numismatic information to further knowledge about specific Byzantine rulers.[27]

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23. It is true that most articles and studies on Byzantine numismatics touch on the relevant history. This section, however, will discuss those papers which are more directly involved with an historical presentation.
24. Grierson, *op. cit.*
25. *Ibid.*, p. 413f.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
27. J. P. C. Kent, "Zeno and Leo, the Most Noble Caesars," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 19, 1959, pp. 93-98. See also her article "The Mystery of Leontius II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 14, 1954, pp. 217-218.

Grierson has also written about the relationship of the coins of Heraclius and the subsequent revolt of Phocas.[28] In discussing the coinage of the seventh century, P. D. Whitting, H. Nubar, and Peter Charanis, each contributed a separate study which concerned the history of a different part of the Byzantine Empire.[29] Charanis discussed the decline of the bronze coinage in the period of the seventh and eighth centuries. Whitting, Nubar, and Charanis, and especially Metcalf, concern themselves predominantly with the bronze coinage—the circulating coinage of the masses both in the metropolitan area as well as in the provinces.[30] Such essays developed in interesting detail the historical environment of the coinage itself. Similar studies of the gold coinage of the general period of the sixth through eighth centuries posed interesting historical hypotheses about urban decline in the empire as the lack of gold coins of the period would indicate. A. P. Kazhdan suggested the interesting hypothesis of urban decline during the seventh century.[31] A different interpretation was presented by Speros Vryonis as the result of his study of a hoard of gold coins found in Attica.[32]

The most important monograph on the propaganda usage of Byzantine coins was written by Alfred P. Bellinger.[33] The obvious iconoclast policy of Irene was made conspicuous by her solidi which eliminated the portrait of Christ and for it substituted the imperial portrait on obverse and reverse. Bellinger described other similar examples of how the gold coinage was used by the monarch to advertise royal policy and dynastic goals. A somewhat similar approach was taken

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28. Philip Grierson, "The Consular Coinage of Heraclius and the Revolt against Phocas of 608-610," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 10, 1950, pp. 71-93.
29. P. D. Whitting, "Byzantine Solidi of the VIIth Century," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 58, 1950, cols. 669-670; H. Nubar, "Byzantine Coins from the Beginning of the 7th Century and the End of the City of Histria," *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 3, 1960. pp. 183-193; Peter Charanis, "The Significance of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Historia*, Vol. 4. 1955, pp. 163-172.
30. D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans*, See also his "Slavonic Threat to Greece, ca. 580: Some Evidence from Athens," *Hesperia*, Vol. 31, 1962, pp. 134-157.
31. A. P. Kazhdan, "Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-XI vv," *Sovietskaya Arkeologiya*, Vol. 21, 1954, pp. 164-188.
32. Speros Vryonis, "An Attic Hoard of Byzantine Gold Goins (668-741) from the Thomas Whittemore Collection and the Numismatic Evidence for the Urban History of Byzantium," *Melanges George Ostrogorsky I*, 1963, pp. 291-300.
33. Alfred R. Bellinger, *loc. cit.*

by George P. Galavaris who described the symbolism that was suggested by the different types of clothing worn by the effigies on the coins.[34] Galavaris' thesis was eloquently stated:

> *The imperial costumes, so sacred and indispensable that they were kept in a special place in the palace, expressed the mission of the ruler, his terrestial role, and his political authority. These ideas were spread by their reflections on his coins, which streamed to the ends of the world, imperishable, minted in discs of gold called solidi.*[35]

Some interesting ideas on numismatic symbolism were suggested by Galavaris in his treatment of the gold and silver coinage. Definite Byzantine religious concepts were employed by Galavaris to illustrate how the coin design themselves were mirrors of Byzantine imperial philosophy.

A most important work on the historical implications of Byzantine numismatic iconography was written by J. D. Breckenridge.[36] He presented a strong historical background which was necessary for a proper assessment of the iconophile-iconoclast coinage of the period known as the Iconoclastic Controversy. Breckenridge reiterated a similar philosophy about Byzantine coins as did Galavaris when Breckenridge wrote that Byzantine coins ". . . represent a significant field of the imperial iconography, never entirely neglected by the authorities for their ability to bring messages to the general public, as to special segments thereof: the coinage tends to reflect then, significant changes of imperial policy as they may be susceptible of representation in the imperial iconography, and . . . are more reliable guides to iconography than to stylistic character."[37] Breckenridge in 104 pages and 10 plates did an admirable job in covering the coinage of one emperor. Galavaris wrote a general outline of the political and social significance of the imperial costume. Ultimately, a comprehensive work utilizing the broad approach of Galavaris to an emperor after emperor approach fashioned after Breckenridge would be most desirable. In the mean-

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34. George P. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," ANS. *MN VIII*, 1958, pp. 99-117.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

36. James D. Breckenridge, "The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II. (685-695, 705-711 A.D.)," ANS. *NNM* #144, 1959. See also Metcalf, "The Byzantine Empire," p. 233 footnote for a discussion of a few similar works.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

time, there is a potpourri of articles which have elements of the Galavaris/Breckenridge approach for collectors and scholars to peruse.

For example, the historical and numismatic significance of the "marriage solidi" of the fifth century was discussed by G. Zacos and A. Veglery.[38] The significance of the imperial beard is discussed by Grierson.[39] A short resume of the importance of Byzantine portraiture was published in an American coin collector's newspaper.[40] An important writer on iconography, E. Kitzinger, has written a number of articles which concern the art and coins of the Iconoclastic Controversy.[41] Views of such art historians as Kitzinger, Grabar. and Koch[42] would be of importance to the hoped-for scholar who will some day write a comprehensive corpus on the iconography of the entire Byzantine coinage.[43]

Although the historical significance of Byzantine coins in other geographical areas will be covered in following sections, some brief mention of the imitative Byzantine coins fits under the topic of historical implications. It is a well known phenomenon of numismatics that strong, popular coinages are picked up and imitated by peoples of the "hinterland". There are many examples of Greek gold staters of Philip II of Macedon that were accepted by the barbaric tribes such

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38. G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "Marriage Solidi of the Fifth Century," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 68, 1960, pp. 73-74.

39. Philip Grierson, "Die Alterations and Imperial Beards," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 70, 1962, pp. 159-160.

40. William Higgie, "The Byzantine Empire. Its Coinage is a Study of Christian Portraiture and Symbolism," *Numismatic News*, Vol. 12, No. 11, May 25, 1964, p. 5.

41. Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of the Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *The Dumbarton Oaks Papers VIII*, 1954, pp. 83-150. and his article, "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art," *Melanges Georges Ostrogorsky I*, 1963, pp. 185-193.

42. Breckenridge, *op. cit.*, See footnote p. 2 for discussion of writers on iconography.

43. There are a number of short monographs which are concerned with some unusual symbols on Byzantine coins. V. Laurent, the author of the bibliography which prompted the writing of this bibliography has published, "L'embleme du lis dans la numismatique Byzantine," *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, pp. 417-427; and see also Marcel Jungfleisch, "Conjectures au sujet de certaines lettres isolees se recontrant sur les solidi byzantins du VII^e siecle," *Bulletin de Institut d'Egypte*, Vol. 31, 1948-1949, pp. 108-120. D. M. Metcalf frequently writes about the significance of symbols and secret marks.

as the Celts and imitated for centuries.[44] As the Athenian "owl" was the "dollar" of the classical period, and as the American dollar has been generally acceptable throughout the modern world, the Byzantine coinage, the solidus in particular, was the "dollar" of the middle ages.[45] As such, there were many imitations of it.

Some of the authors of monographs on the imitative coinages are Grierson, Miles, and Golenko who have written on unrelated areas of the imitative coinage. Grierson described a barbarous solidus of North African provenance.[46] Miles wrote a most informative monograph on the relationship of the miliaresion and the Arab dirhem. Miles noted a number of examples of miliaresia which were over-struck on Arab dirhems.[47] Miles admitted in the article that he was just initiating research into the implications behind the introduction of the new type of miliaresion which was obviously patterned after the Arab dirhems. He compiled a metrology pattern of the overstruck dirhems in an attempt to correlate a weight relationship. But because of the scarcity of overstruck specimens and the inherent difficulties of this intriguing Byzantine imitation of another empire's coinage, Miles whets one's appetite for more information in this area.[48] The Golenko article discusses some imitative Byzantine coins found in Russia.[49] Many of the articles on hoards describe similar imitative coins. (Some further mention of this will be made in the section of this paper on hoards.)

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44. R. Forrer, *Keltische Numismatik Der Rheim-und Donaulande*, Strassburg, 1908, pp. 32-33. Roman and Greek coins were imitated extensively by the Celts and such imitations and the originals are illustrated by Forrer. See also P. D. Whitting, "The Byzantine Empire and the Coinage of the Anglo-Saxons." *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Presented to Sir Frank Stenton*, London, 1961, pp. 23-38.
45. R. S. Lopez, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 11, 1951, pp. 209-234.
46. P. Grierson, "A Barbarous North African Solidus of the Late Seventh Century," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 10, 1950, pp. 301-305.
47. George Miles, "Byzantine Miliaresion and Arab Dirhem: Some Notes on their Relationship," ANS, *MN IX*, p. 193. Miles examined sixteen overstruck dirhems.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 218. It is hoped that Mr. Miles will continue his studies in this area. His familiarity with the Arabic language and his extensive background in numismatics make him most qualified to answer some of the questions his paper poses.
49. K. V. Golenko, "Imitations of X-XI Century Byzantine Coins found on the Taman Peninsula." (in Russian), *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, Vol. 7, 1953, pp. 269-275.

Byzantine Economic Policy and Numismatic Studies. 1950-1965

Joel L. Malter

Elements of Byzantine economic policy obviously pervade the entire question of Byzantine numismatics. An outstanding example of this overlapping is the monograph discussed under the metrology section of this series. Howard L. Adelson's "Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," covered the material indicated in the title of his study. Adelson has written other articles on medieval trade and the routes employed.[50] R. S. Lopez's important study, "The Dollar of the Middle Ages," is another example of an article which covers Byzantine economic policy as well as other fields such as metrology or coinage stability.[51]

Philip Grierson entered the literature of Byzantine and medieval trade history in his article. "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence."[52] This is a more general survey than his article on the Byzantine coinage in Italy.[53] Similar studies to this one by Grierson were written by other scholars for other parts of the Mediterranean world with which Byzantine had commercial intercourse.

The basic study for the economic history of Egypt during this period was written by Allan Chester Johnson and Louis C. West.[54] A contribution to the field of the Byzantine trade with Egypt and the mint at Alexandria was made by J. R. Phillips.[55] Numismatists from Spain have added to the literature of Byzantine trade with the Iberian Peninsula.[56]

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50. Howard L. Adelson, "Early Medieval Trade Routes," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2, 1960, pp. 271-287, and "Monete e traffici nel primo medioevo," *Mercurio*, Vol. 3, No. 9, Sept. 15, 1960, pp. 26-30.
51. R. S. Lopez, *op. cit.*
52. P. Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages; A Critique of the Evidence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 9, 1959, pp. 123-140.
53. P. Grierson, "Monete bizantine in Italia dal VII all'XI secolo," *Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 1961, pp. 35-55.
54. Allan Chester Johnson and Louis C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, Princeton, 1949.
55. J. R. Phillips, "The Byzantine Bronze Coins of Alexandria in the Seventh Century," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 2, 1962, pp. 225-241.
56. F. Mateu Y Llopis, "La moneda byzantina en Espana," *Cronica dell III Congreso Arqueologico del Sudeste Espanol*, Cartogero, 1948.

Metcalf was concerned with Byzantine trade with many parts of the Empire. His studies have developed the concept of "coinage provinces" such as those in the Balkans. The studies of hoards, the various types of coins found and their circulation areas were studied by Metcalf in his major work.[57] Metcalf collaborated with E. J. Prawdzic-Golemberski to cover the Byzantine trade with the southeastern fringes of the Byzantine Empire.[58]

In addition to the above type of economic policy works, which are concerned with trade, there are additional research papers which deal with the related economic areas such as mints, monetary reform and metal supply.

Contemporary mint records of the Byzantine Empire are nonexistent. Most of the mint information known today is derived from the study of the coins themselves. There is no one work which discusses the mechanics and issues for all the Byzantine mints. The major catalogues such as Wroth's and Sabatier's as well as the more recent handbooks by Goodacre and most recently by Longuet provide the reader with general mint information such as mint marks.[59] There have been a few monographs which lightly cover mint operations. Philip Grierson wrote an article on the officinae of the late Roman Empire.[60] A brief survey of mint abbreviations and values on Byzantine coins was written by Kurt Lombard.[61]

Considerable information on the Byzantine mints can be gleaned from several important monographs on monetary reform and overstrikings of certain issues. Metcalf wrote a monograph on the monetary reforms of Anastasius I. His

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57. Metcalf. *Coinage—loc. cit.* See the preface to this work for an excellent bibliography. Metcalf wrote a short article on this same topic, "The Currency of Byzantine Coins in Syrmia and Slavonia," *Hamburger Beitrage zur Numismatik*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1960, pp 429-444.

58. E. J. Prawdzic-Golemberski and D. M. Metcalf, "The Circulation of Byzantine Coins on the Southeastern Frontiers of the Empire." *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 3, 1963, pp. 83-92. See also M. Avi-Jonah, "The Economics of Byzantine Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. 8, 1958, pp. 39-51 for coverage of Byzantine trade with Palestine.

59. See the first footnote for Wroth, Sabatier and Goodacre. The most recent collector's handbook on Byzantine coinage is Dr. Henry Longuet's *Introduction à la Numismatique Byzantine*. London, 1961. See pages 40-42 for information on mint marks.

60. Philip Grierson, "Coins Monetaires et officines a l'epoque du Bas-Empire," *Schweizer Münzblatter*, No. 41, July 1961, pp. 1-8. See the same publication, No. 44, April 1962, for some further commentary by C. H. V. Sutherland.

article concerned the economic policies of Anastasius as well as some of the mechanics of the mint.[62] P. D. Whitting has written several articles on the curious overstriking of Byzantine bronze coins. The information gleaned from overstrikings, although initially such over-strikings would indicate certain emergency measures in the mint, they also help in the attribution of certain of the more difficult bronze series. This is particularly true with the anonymous bronze issues.[63]

Studies on the sources of the metals which went to the mints for coinage are in short supply. Speros Vryonis has written one of the more important papers on Byzantine mines.[64] He cited the lack of sufficient source material as a cause for the present lack of knowledge about the regions of the Byzantine Empire that supplied the mints with the large amount of metal required for the extensive coinage. Vryonis concluded that such areas as the Balkans and Anatolia itself, as well as sources in Armenia, the Arab neighboring countries and imperial treasure provided the mints with the essential gold, silver and copper.[65] George Miles speculated on the Byzantine silver mines in his above-mentioned article.[66] This interesting question of the sources of metal for the mints requires further

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61. Kurt Lombard, "Münztypen and Münzstatten von Byzanz," *Mitteilungsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaften Frankfurt A. M. und Mainz*, N. D., pp. 7-8 See also J. F. Lhotka, "Introduction to East Roman Coinage," *The Numismatist*, in various numbers from 1954-1955. Lhotka reviews some of the information provided in the major references such as Wroth. The various articles in *The Numismatist* have been reprinted compiled in one book of 112 pages.

62. D. M. Metcalf, "Organization of the Constantinople Mint for the Follis of the Anastasius Reforms," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 1961, pp. 131-143; See also Metcalf's article "The Byzantine Bronze Coinage in the East Mediterranean World," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Vol. 11, Rome, pp. 521-530 for a discussion of follis reforms, provincial mints and officinae.

63. P. D. Whitting and C. H. Piper, "A Common Byzantine Anonymous Overstrike," *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Sept. 1951, pp. 359-361. "Overstrikes in the Byzantine Anonymous Bronze Series," *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, Sept. 1952, pp. 377-381; and P. D. Whitting, "An Overstriking of Justinian I at Rome," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 15, 1955, pp. 238-240.

64. Speros Vryonis, Jr., "The Question of the Byzantine Mines," *Speculum*, Vol. 37, No. 1, January 1962, pp. 1-17.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17. Vryonis states that the "aloofness" of the Byzantine chronicles kept them from mentioning the Byzantine mines. Vryonis depends largely on such source material as Strabo and other earlier writers.

66. Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

study. Although it is apparently true that contemporary records are lacking, there is room for further investigation through study of coin minutiae to ferret out more information on metal supply. Articles on over-striking are one area for deeper penetration into this question. Surprisingly little has been written about the melting down of earlier coins by newly installed emperors. Research into this question could conceivably shed more light onto what is already known about debasement, trade with the Balkans and other bullion supply regions, as well as on the historical implications that would appear in cases of monetary reform.

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New Attributions and Re-Attributions of Byzantine Coins. 1950-1965

JOEL L. MALTER

There has been abundant work in the field of attributing Byzantine coins. Monographs have been written on such aspects of coin attributions as:

A. SECRET MARKS

B. THE ANONYMOUS BRONZES

C. UNEDITED COINS

D. RE-ATTRIBUTIONS

E. SPURIOUS COINS

Many of the authorities cited above for contributing to the numismatic literature of Byzantium in the areas of metrology, historical background, and economics, have also written in the category of attributions.

P. D. Whitting and C. H. Piper who have written on the overstrikes of Byzantine bronzes, have also added to the attributions of the anonymous bronzes. (Pre-1950 work in this area was led by the A. N. S. Monograph of Alfred Bellinger.)[67] Whitting has also published short articles on such specific attribution topics as "A Bronze of Isaac, II."[68] "A New Transitional Byzantine Issue of A. D. 582,"[69] and "Another Heraclius Die Identity."[70] His most important article was "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze." in which he updated Bellinger's and his own work on the complicated series of Byzantine anony-

67. Alfred Bellinger, "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage," ANS, *NNM*, 35, 1928. Later M. Thompson in her book, *The Athenian Agora*, II (see footnote 19 above) added to Bellinger's groundwork in developing a chronological sequence to the bronze anonymous coinage. P. D. Whitting and C. H. Piper. "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze." *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, July 1949, pp. 328-329; Whitting and Piper collaborated on several other articles in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, see the April 1950 issue, pp. 162-163 for "Another Byzantine Anonymous." in which the authors clarify a coin over which Wroth and Bellinger differed. See also the April 1951 issue, pp. 143-145 for "Rearranging some Byzantine Anonymous Types," and the May 1951 issue pp. 192-193 for "Dating Byzantine Anonymous Issues."

68. P. D. Whitting, "A Bronze of Isaac II." *Numismatic Circular*. Vol. 60. 1962. col, 512.

69. P. D. Whitting, "A New Transitional Byzantine Issue of A.D. 582." *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 20, 1960, pp. 133-135.

70. P. D. Whitting, "Another Heraclius Die Identity," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 73, 1965, pp. 129-130.

mous bronzes.[71] In most of these works, the various authors analyzed the curious "secret markings" in the nimbus of the Christ portrait to differentiate among the different issues of the anonymous bronze series.[72] Irimia Dimian has contributed a monograph on the anonymous bronze coinage with the emphasis on re-attributing some of the issues of Basil II and Constantine VIII, which were earlier attributed by Margaret Thompson.[73]

The great preponderance of articles in this section on attributions concerns brief papers on the publishing of hitherto unedited coins. These articles all must some day be correlated into one illustrated catalogue so that there can be a more universal acceptance of the complex Byzantine coinage. Some of the more significant articles in this field are G. C. Boon's "Another Follis of Leontius II." Cesare Gamberini di Scarfea's articles on a follis of Anastasius I. and T. Gerassimov who has contributed several articles on new coin types of the Palaeologi, as well as an occasional article on an important early issue.[74] Philip Grierson's articles on unedited or unusual Byzantine coins are numerous. Amongst his published articles on attributions and reattributions are those which range from a silver

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71. P. D. Whitting, "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 15, 1955, pp. 89-99.

72. See D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Balkans*, p. 44 for a detailed chart of the secret marks. In many of his articles which deal with the bronze Byzantine coins, Metcalf investigated the coin minutiae in order to determine provincial mints and other relevant information. See especially his articles, "Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the Eleventh Century," *Hamburger Beitrage zur Numismatik*, Vol. 5, No. 15, 1961 pp. 25-32, and "Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coinage in Greece," *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*, Vol. 56, pp. 42-63.

73. Irimia Dimian, "Cu privire la cronologia si atribuirea monedelor anonime bizantine de bronz," *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 3, 1960, pp. 197-217.

74. G. C. Boon, "Another Follis of Leontius II, 695-8," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 18, 1958, pp. 179-180. Cesare Gamberini di Scarfea, "Un rovescio sconosciuto su di un inedito follaro di Anastasio I per Constantinopoli." *Italia Numismatica*, Vol. 15, Nos. 7-8, July-August, 1964, p. 142. For the prolific writings of T. Gerassimov, see his "Monnaies inedites de Paleologues." Musee National Bulgare, *Fouilles et Recherches*, Vol. IV, 1950, pp. 23-44; "Les monnaies de Jean VII Paleologue (1400-1408)," *Byzantinoslavica*, Vol. 17, 1956, pp. 114-119; "Medna moneta na Andronik IV Paleolog 1376-1379." *Bulletin de l'Institut Archeologique*, Vol. 20, 1955, pp. 584-585; see the same journal pp. 585-586 for a similar article by Gerassimov on a coin of John VII. Gerassimov wrote an article on a gold medallion of Theodosius II in *Berecht u.d. VI Int. Kongress f. Archeologie*, 1940, pp. 596-597.

coin of Theodoric to the dated solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius; and from a study on the famous Ephiphany Medallion in the Dumbarton Oaks collection to an informative discussion of the Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi.[75] (The remarkable Kyrenia Girdle found in the early part of this century near Kyrenia, Cyprus included some unusual medallions of Maurice Tiberius as well as an assortment of rare solidi issues of emperors from Theodosius II to Maurice. Grierson hinted that the solidi were probably collected by an important family.)

Other important articles on attribution have been published by A. M. de Guadan who has concentrated his writings on the thirteenth century Byzantine coinage.[76] Tommaso Bertelé, like de Guadan, has written on the late Byzantine and associated coinages. Bertelé studied the silver and gold coins of John VI and related them to the history of John VI with the Palaeologan House.[77] In an interesting article on the importance of epigraphy for attributions, G. Zacos and A. Veglery discussed the variations of the sigma on certain eleventh century coins.[78] The same authors have also published an article on an unedited solidus of Anastasius I, and they have presented new

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75. Philip Grierson, "Una moneta d'argento inedita di Teodorico il Grande," *Numismatica*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1960, pp. 112-115; "Dated Solidi of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 10, 1950, pp. 49-70; "The Date of the Dumbarton Oaks Epiphany Medallion," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 15, pp. 221-224; "The Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 15, 1955, pp. 55-70. Other articles of Grierson of attribution nature are "Comments on Two Unpublished Byzantine Coins," *The Numismatist*, Vol. 73, No. 2, 1960, pp. 147-149, and "Matasuntha or Mastinas: A Reattribution," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 19, 1959, pp. 119-130. The latter article studies the monograms of some bronze and silver issues some of which are believed to be fakes made by Luigi Cigoi, a nineteenth century forger, and some Grierson reattributes to Mastinas, King of Mauretania.

76. Antonio Manuel DeGuadan y Lascaris Comneno, "Ensayo sobre diferenciacion en las acunaciones del Imperio Byzantino en el siglo XIII (Nicea, Tesalonica, Trebizonda, Epiro, Neopatras," *Numisma*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1952, April-June, pp. 9-22, and No. 4, 1952, July-September, pp. 25-41. See also "Una nueva moneda de cobre de Miguel VIII Paleologo, acunada en Nicea," *Numisma*, Vol. 3, No. 8, 1953, pp. 19-25; and "Nomisma d'Argento di Isaaca II Angelo e le Coniayioni di Teodoro Dircas Mankaphos," *Italia Numismatica*, Vol. 11, No. 9, 1960, pp. 117-120.

77. Tommaso Bertelé, "Monete dell'imperatore Giovanni VI Cantacuzeno," *Melanges Georges Ostrogorsky I*, 1963, pp. 43-59.

78. G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "C for Σ on Coins of the Eleventh Century," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 68, 1960, pp. 154-157.

information on a solidus of Leo IV.[79] A few other authors of short attribution articles are Jan Sebesta, D. Tsontchev and Ileana Bancila.[80]

Fortunately, fake Byzantine coins are not as abundant as the more readily saleable Greek and Roman coins are. There have been some Byzantine coins that have been faked and a few articles about them have been written. T. Gerassimov has published articles on fakes of coins of John Zimisces and Constantine XI. P. D. Whitting has also published in this field as has Philip Grierson.[81]

79. G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "An Unknown Solidus of Anastasius I," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 67, 1959, pp. 154-155, and "New Light on the Solidus of Leo IV," *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 69, 1961, pp. 30-31.

80. Jan Sebesta, "Neznama bysantska mince," *Moravske Numismaticke Zprary*, No. 3, Oct. 1957, p. 34; D. Tsontchev who wrote an article on an unpublished seal of Nicephorus Ducas in *Revue Numismatique* Vol. 10, 1947-48, pp. 132-133; and Ileana Bancila, "O moneda bizantina inedita sau putin cunoscuta." *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 1, 1957, pp. 417-418. See also Henry Longuet, "Die unedierten byzantinischen Munzen des Wiener Kabinettes,

81. T. Gerassimov, "Starinni falshijikati na monete ot IU Tsimiskhii, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 77, 1957, pp. 28-57.
Bulletin de l'institut archeologie bulgare, Vol. 17, 1950, pp. 313-315; and P. D. Whitting, "Two Suspected Byzantine Forgeries," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 18, 1958, pp. 117-178, See Grierson's "Matasuntha or Mastinas; A reattribution, mentioned in footnote 75 above as well as his article on a tetarteron mentioned in footnote 15 above.

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Byzantine Hoards, Finds and Excavation Coins. 1950-1965

Joel L. Malter

Like the series of short articles on attributions as described above, the literature on hoard finds is similarly prolific, and in most cases purely descriptive and terse. Obviously, articles on hoard information are related in content to all of the fields described above. The literature on hoards supplies the numismatist and historian with information on chronology, die linkage, imitative coinage, trade routes, and commerce. No attempt has been made since S. McA. Mosser published "A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards," in 1935, to consolidate the many articles on Byzantine coin hoards that have been published since that time.[82]

In the last decade, there have been many important archaeological excavations in areas that were once under Byzantine control. These diggings have frequently come up with coin finds. The most extensive excavations were done at Athens and Corinth and there is some important literature as a result of this work. (The paper by Margaret Thompson on the coins found in the Athenian Agora has been referred to earlier.[83]) Coin hoards in the Balkans have been analyzed most completely by Metcalf, yet there seem to be more and more articles being published on finds of Byzantine bronze scyphates and other late Empire coinage from the Balkans.[84] B. Mitrea in the Romanian journal *Dacia*, has published a great many summaries of coin finds from the Lower Danube region.[85] I.

82. Sawyer McA. Mosser, "A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards," American Numismatic Society, *NNM* 67, New York, 1935. V. Laurent in his *Bulletin de Numismatique Byzantine*, pp. 219-220 listed thirty monographs on hoard descriptions written in the 1940's. I. V. Sokolova, "Klady vizantiiskikh monet kak istochnik dlia istorii vizantii VIII-XI vv," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, Vol. 15, 1959, pp. 50-63 consolidates the hoard information of the 8th to 11th centuries and analyzes them from the point of view of their content in trade. For example, hoards of Byzantine coins found in the frontier regions include coins from other countries, while hoards from the main part of the empire are usually all Byzantine in content.

83. See footnotes 19 and 67 above.

84. See Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans*.

85. B. Mitrea, "Decouvertes recentes de monnaies anciennes sur le territoire de le Rep. Pop. Rom.," *Dacia*, No. 3, Sq. 1959. See also Mitrea's article on a small find of Byzantine bronze coins, in *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 3, 1960, pp. 497-499.

Dimian has also published finds of Byzantine coins in the Balkans. O. Iliescu has written about a hoard of Comnenus coins found in Bucharest. Some headline-making gold coin hoards have been published by G. K. Grant and H. Djambov.[86]

Russian numismatists like D. Csallany, I. V. Sokolov, T. I. Abramishvili, and K. V. Galenko, have written up Byzantine coin hoards found in different parts of the Soviet Union from Georgia to the Crimea. These important contributions to the numismatic knowledge of Byzantine coins are frequently summarized in a western European language although the articles are generally written in Russian. Csallany's article was especially interesting in that he discussed the Byzantine coins found in conjunction with Avar coin hoards.[87]

Numismatists from many of the eastern European nations have added to the storehouse of hoard literature. Generally these articles describe the coins found in the hoard. Occasionally the coins will be illustrated, but for the most part, the articles only briefly list the coins in the hoard. Not much historical information beyond the coins' description and the geography of the find is discussed. Yet such reports by Sejbal, Holaeka, Barnea, and Bancila are important when added to the overall picture of Byzantine coin hoard information. It is from such accounts of hoards that the commercial history of Byzantium can be pieced together.[88]

Reports of isolated Byzantine coin hoards from such widely separated geographical regions as China, Scandinavia and North Africa shed more light on the scope of Byzantine commerce. Hsai Nai described a Byzantine gold coin found in a

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86. Irimia Dimian, "Citeva descoperiri monetare bizantine pe teritorius," *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 1, 1957, pp. 189-214; Vol. 2, 1958, pp. 413-416. O. Iliescu, "Despre un tezaur de monede bizantine din vremea Comnenilor, gasit in Bucaresti," *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 3, 1960, pp. 493-495. C. K. Grant, "Byzantine Empire Gold Hoard found by Farmer's Wife in South Hungary," *Coin World*, No. 206, March 25, 1964, p. 48. H. Djambov, "A New Gold Treasure," *Bulgaria Today*, Vol. 10, No. 10, Oct. 1961, pp. 36-37.

87. D. Csallany, "Vizantiiskie monety v avarskikh nakhodkakh," *Acta Archaeologica*, Vol. 2, 1952, pp. 235-250. I. V. Sokolov, "Vizantiiskie monety klada Vella," *Numismatika*, No. 2, 1961, pp. 10-22. K. V. Golenko, "Klad monet iz sela Tobanieri," *Vizantiiskie Vremennik*, Vol. 16, 1959, pp. 127-172. T. I. Abramisvili, "Klad iz Dviri," *Vestnik Gosundarstvennogo Muzeia Gruzii*, Vol. 19-B, 1956, pp. 107-121; Vol. 20-B, 1959, pp. 233-250; "Nokalakevskii Klad," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, Vol. 23, 1963, pp. 158-165.

Shensi Province tomb. Joan Fagerlie, in an interesting paper on the importance of late Roman and Byzantine gold coin hoards in Scandinavia added much to the history of the Baltic regions. Several North African hoards have been written up in the period of time covered by this paper.[89]

Eastern Mediterranean finds from Cyprus, Israel and adjacent areas have been described in monographs since the appearance of Laurent's bibliography. The Morphou hoard of Cyprus has shed more light on the coinages of John II and Manuel.[90] S. Skowronenk described some of the problems of a Palmyra hoard and L. Y. Rahmani has written an article on two Byzantine coin hoards found in Israel.[91]

Some of the more penetrating monographs on Byzantine

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88. See Jiri Sejbal, "Zum Fund byzantinischen Goldmunze aus der ersten Halfte des 9 Jahrhunderts auf dem grossmahrischen St. Klemens-Burgwallen," *Moravske Numismaticke Zpravy*, No. 6, 1959, pp. 17-19; Jan Halacka, "Nalez byzantske mince v Mikulcicich," *Moravske Numismaticke Zpravy*, No. 7, 1960, pp. 52-53; I. Barnea. "Alt tezaur de monede bizantine de la Dinogetia." *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 3, 1960, pp. 245-253; and Ileana Bancila, "In legatura cu tezaurul de la Tuzla." *Studii si Cercetari de Numismatica*, Vol. 2, 1958, pp. 417-418, and "Note asupia unor Tezaure de Monede Byzantine," *SCN*, Vol. 1, 1957, pp. 425-438. Bancila's articles go into greater detail than the others in this section.

89. Hsai Nai. "A Byzantine Gold Coin Discovery from a Sui Dynasty Tomb near Sian. Shensi." *Studies in Chinese Archaeology*. Peking. 1961, pp. 172ff. Joan Fagerlie. "Contact Between Italy and the Baltic in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, A.D.," *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Vol. II. 1965. pp. 411-418. Miss Fagerlie studied the gold coins found on the Baltic islands of Gotland. Olard and Bornhohn to check for die duplicates in an attempt to determine if the Byzantine coins found in this region, were introduced gradually or came at once. For other papers on Scandinavian coin hoards, see Erling Albrecteen. "Fynske guldfynd," *Odense, Odense Bys Museer*, 1960. and Ole Klindt-Jensen. "A Scandinavian Community in Peace and War." *Archaeology*, Vol. 11. No. 2. 1958. pp. 81-86. For articles on North African Byzantine Coin hoards, see Philip Grierson. "A Byzantine Hoard from North Africa." *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. 13. 1953. pp. 146-148. and J. Heurgon. "Grand medaillon en or. faisant partie d'un tresor trouve a Tenes. Algerie." *Bulletin Archeologie*, 1958, pp. 45-46.

9. A.H.S. Megaw. "Archaeology in Cyprus. 1958." (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.) *Archaeological Reports for 1958*. 1959. pp. 25-34. See also: A. I. Dikigoropoulos. "A Byzantine Hoard from Kharcha. Cyprus." *Numismatic Chronicle*. Vol. 15. 1956. pp. 255-256. and T. Abramishvili. "Nakhodka vizantiiskikh zolotykh monet v Gurdzhaani." *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*. Vol. 13. 1958. pp. 282-285.

91. Stefan Skowronenk. "Z problematyki skarbu palmyrenskiego." *Wiadomosci Numizmatyczne*. Vol. 5. 1961. pp. 105-110; L. Y. Rahmani. "Two Hoards of Byzantine Coins." *Israel Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 2, 1964, pp. 19-23.

coin hoards have been written by A. R. Bellinger. Perhaps his most important paper on hoards described a group of silver scyphates of Theodore I, Lascaris, Emperor of Nicea. Bellinger went into considerable detail to describe the coins of this hoard, and his findings on the extent of Theodore's economic activity are important for a fuller picture of commerce between Byzantium and Venice.[92] H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas have published two excellent detailed monographs on the small bronze minimi of the fifth and sixth centuries.[93]

In addition to the above-mentioned articles, there are others mentioned in the footnotes of this paper as well as in the bibliography at the end of the paper. Yet, as has been suggested earlier, this resume is far from complete. It is quite apparent that an up-to-date bibliography on Byzantine coin hoards is essential so that a fuller appreciation of the scope of Byzantine monetary history can be attained by scholar and student alike.

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92. A. R. Bellinger, "A Hoard of Silver Coins of the Empire of Nicaea," *Centennial Publication of the ANS*, 1958, pp. 73-81. See also these monographs by Bellinger: "Three Hoards of Byzantine Bronze Coins," *Greek and Byzantine Studies*, Vol. 1, 1958, pp. 163-171; "Three More Hoards of Byzantine Copper Coins," ANS, *MN XI*, 1964, pp. 207-226. The latter two articles are important for their descriptive work on scyphate coinage. Bellinger collaborated with D. M. Metcalf in "A Hoard of Byzantine Scyphate Bronze Coins from Arcadia," *NC*, Vol. 19, pp. 155-164.

93. H. L. Adelson and G. L. Kustas, "A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I," ANS *NNM* 148, 1962; and "A Sixth Century Hoard of Minimi from the Western Peloponnese," ANS, *MN XI*, 1964, pp. 159-205.

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Studies Related To Byzantine Numismatics. 1950-1965

Joel L. Malter

There have been some numismatic articles on Byzantium that do not fit under any of the above categories. For example, some of the museum or university collections of Byzantine coins have been published. Such published collections are those at Dartmouth College and the Mechitharist Congregation in Vienna.[94] R. Maric, Leo Schindler, and I. V. Sokolov have published articles on coins pertinent to Byzantium that they studied in the national museums of Yugoslavia, Austria and the Soviet Union respectively.[95]

I. V. Sokolov has also published an interesting article on the preparation of Byzantine coin dies. Sokolov derived his information from the minutiae of a particular hoard of coins. He admitted that techniques could and probably did vary from mint to mint. There is all too little material on minting techniques. Sokolov's efforts, hopefully, should bring more research into this area.[96]

The important series of papers published by Dumbarton Oaks has included numerous monographs related to Byzantine numismatics. M. C. Ross has published several works in the Dumbarton Oaks series, his most important being his *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.*[97]

Occasionally an article will be published with a remote connection to Byzantine coins. A. Kindler's "A Seventh Century Lamp with Coin Decorations," described a clay lamp to which

94. John B. Stearns and Vernon Hall, Jr., "Byzantine Gold Coins from the Dartmouth Collection," Hanover, New Hampshire, 1963; Robert Göbl, "Die Byzantinischen Münzen in der Sammlung der Mechitharisten-Congregation in Wien." *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 79, 1961, pp. 11-27.

95. R. Maric, "Aus der numismatischen Sammlung des Nationalmuseums," *Zbornik radova Narodnag Muneja*, Vol. 2, 1959, pp. 191-224; Leo Schindler, "Die byzantinischen munzsammlungen in Osterreich." *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 74, 1951, pp. 54-61; I. V. Sokolov, "Drevnebolgarskie monety v muzeiakj USSR," *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, Vol. 13, 1957, pp. 262-281. See also M. C. Ross, "A Byzantine Treasure in Detroit," *The Art Quarterly*, Autumn, 1959, pp. 229-239.

96. I. Sokolova, "O tekjnike izgotovleniia shtempelei dlia chekanki vizantiiskikj monet," *Soobshcheniia Gosurdarstvennogo Ermitazha*, No. 15, 1959, pp. 46-49.

were impressed some Byzantian coin designs.[98] Aside from this and a few articles on peripheral subjects such as Byzantine coinage related to the Vandals and literature on seals, the foregoing sections of this report have contained the basic literature on Byzantine numismatics since the work by Laurent.[99]

It would be worthwhile, in conclusion, to compare briefly the general course of Byzantine numismatic bibliography since Laurent's review of the literature of the 1940's.

The area that seems to have maintained the interest of numismatists throughout the entire post World War II period has been the investigation of metrology. The earlier works of Schindler, Kalmann, Miles, Gerassimov and Blanchet have been continued in some cases by the same authors as well as by the new names of the fifties and sixties like Grierson, Adelson and Metcalf.[100] Information on hoard finds has been written up throughout the period as has the literature on the historic role of Byzantine numismatics.

Perhaps the most obvious trailing off in the writings of recent years has been in the fields of foreign imitation of Byzantine coins, the vocabulary of Byzantine numismatics, and in articles on the mints. These areas had considerable coverage in the monographs that Laurent listed. Yet to assume that the last words have been written on any of these areas would be fatal as there has been some work done in each as this report has indicated in earlier sections.

The trend in more recent years has been in the study of the bronze coinage, silver coinage, and gold coinage as sort of independent areas from one another.[101] The scholars of this period have specialized in certain metals for certain periods of time. Therefore, there are certain reigns or periods which

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97. M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Vol. 1, 1962; see also, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 11, 1957, pp. 247-261. Both of these papers are by Ross. Another writer in the Dumbarton Oaks Series, E. H. Kantorwicz wrote, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, No. 14, 1960, pp. 1-16. See also Erica Cruikshank Dodd, "Byzantine Silver Stamps," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1962.

98. A. Kindler, "A Seventh Century Lamp with Coin Decorations," *Israel Exploration Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1958, pp. 106-109.

99. Robert Turcan, "La valeur du follis a l'epoque vandale," both in *Bulletin de la Societe Francaise de Numismatique*, Vol. 15, July 1960, pp. 454-457. Much important work on seals has been published by V. Laurent, (See also, "Un tresor d'epoque vandale," by Turcan.)

100. V. Laurent, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

101. Metcalf, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 233.

have not had the stress that other more thoroughly researched areas have had. The result is an obvious need for further research into these more neglected regions. For example, the emphasis on the study of Byzantine gold issues has been on the coinage of the first few hundred years of the Empire. Only sporadic papers on hoard finds, and other related investigations have been made for the later period of Byzantine numismatics. Throughout the entire period covered by both Laurent and this paper, the silver coinage has not been given as full a treatment as it deserves.

The most impressive new information to come from the more recent research is in the development of the concept that much of the late Byzantine bronze coinage was made by provincial rather than metropolitan mints. Such findings as this coupled with the outpouring of articles on unpublished types, unusual hoard finds and the like help point to the one major point that has been hinted at on several occasions in this paper—namely, that a new, standard catalogue for Byzantine numismatics is essential. The great wealth of monographic literature should and, of course, will continue, but it is fervently hoped someone or some coalition of Byzantine numismatists will get together in order to collate this mass of material, sketched over in this report, and produce a new basic catalogue of Imperial Byzantine coins.

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